Fellowship

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Responsible for the World, by A. C. Barrington

Minority Report on the Bruderhof, by Henry Little

Your Money or Your Life, by Milton Mayer

Co-ops Come Back, by Fred Nora

Seven pages of Book Reviews

THIS MONTH

WE THOUGHT of calling A. C. Barrington's article "Letter from New Zealand," but the secretary of the N. Z. Christian Pacifist Society has written lots more than a "letter" in *Responsible for the World*. . . . Henry Little, author of *Minority Report on the Bruderhof*, is a CO, twice imprisoned during the war, now living with his family on a near-subsistence farm in Vermont. Readers interested in the recent Bruderhof article will not want to miss it. . . . Two recent trips across the Atlantic are the background for *Co-ops Come Back*, by Fred Nora, former co-op editor and now professor of Political Science and Journalism at William Penn College. . . . Milton Mayer muses about tax-refusal and the American ideal.

NEXT MONTH

SUPPOSE draftees had to prove themselves conscientiously prepared to kill their fellows? That's the starting point for *Conscientious Combatant*, by Alfred Hassler. . . . Andre Trocme, FOR secretary in Europe, brings *Finland Tries a New Way* . . . and from strife-ridden Johannesburg Darrell and Mildred Randall send *Jim Crow in Africa*.

FELLOWSHIP

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Fellowship

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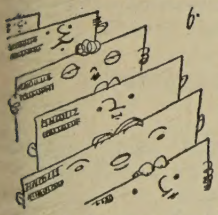
Subheads

Registration

Baby 101-49-000001 was born on New Year's Day in Prattville, Autauga County, Alabama, and inaugurated what the newspapers call a "new registration system." For the time being the baby will be better known as Leonard Blake Gunnels, but we fear this is only a sop tossed to the conservatives.



The time has obviously been ripe for some years now to begin the inevitable process of replacing names with numbers, and Leonard Gunnels has the dubious distinction of launching it.

Conscientious nonregistrants for the draft will recognize the flanking movement that officialdom has thus begun. It was bad enough to have the military influence creeping gradually down into the teenage group, but no one can expect a newborn baby to have firm convictions about registering.

Card File

Scoffers will dismiss our forebodings about the new system, we know, but we refuse to be comforted. The business of depersonalizing, classifying, and filing people has been going on for a long while now, and it isn't likely to be reversed. Forty million Americans already have their dossiers in the social security files; J. Edgar Hoover has the fingerprints of 60 million of us divided between his criminal and non-criminal files; and now the gaps are to be filled in by the obstetricians and midwives.

The All-Seeing Eye of an earlier theology, which might be expected to watch the deeds of the rebellious conscience with some degree of sympathy and encouragement, is being replaced by the All-Knowing Card Index File, which will not. Before the breed becomes completely extinct, someone ought to present to the Smithsonian Institution a representative pair of the genus Unclassified Revolutionary, carefully stuffed. It had its functions, too.

Cheerful, Inc.

Along with the process of turning people into file cards, we have been worrying some about the

business of turning common stock into people.

This latter trick began quite a while ago when the Supreme Court ruled that the "due process" clause of the Constitution, intended to protect persons, applied also to corporations and other institutions, and it rested at that point for a considerable time. Lately, however, the transmutation has been extended from the legal to the emotional.

We had all this brought to mind one day when, driving through the peaceful countryside, we were suddenly informed by a radio that until then had contented itself with playing Brahms' piano concerto that Birdseye Frosted Foods desired to wish us a happy new year. The thing came as a nasty shock, and it did not help to learn the following Sunday evening that by listening to a play on the radio we were making the United States Steel Corporation "happy."

It is not that we have anything against a happy steel corporation or even a frozen-foods company brimming over with good cheer: it's the idea that entities we have always thought of as inorganic and inanimate should have acquired the ability to experience these emotions. It suggests that maybe the priceless gift of life and freedom is being transferred from men, who have not been outstandingly successful in preserving either, to corporations, which have.

The examples are not limited to steel companies and food-processing outfits, either. A variety of firms engaged in making and selling everything from soap to cigarettes find genuine satisfaction, we are informed by persuasive but disembodied voices, in bringing entertainment to a vast audience, also disembodied. Until a few years ago, a voice named Cameron told millions of Americans every Sunday what the Ford Motor Company thought about a great number of political, economic and strictly personal matters. Other companies frequently express themselves with some passion, according to the newspapers, on questions of wages, dividends, and security, and on the last-named have pretty well established the right of a corporation to sufficient exemption from taxes to save for a rainy day, a thing that would seem ludicrous if proposed for wage-earning individuals.

Maybe television will be more of a boon than we thought. When the American Tobacco Company and Lever Brothers turn up on forty million screens as a couple of dignified but slightly pudgy gentlemen reading from a script, the trend may be reversed. We can hope anyway, can't we?

Here and There with the Military

The Oak Ridge atomic-bomb plant is undergoing a $70,000,000 expansion program, to increase "very substantially" the nation's output of the elements of the atomic bomb and other weapons.

* * *

Chemists have found two new uses for the "miracle weed-killer" 2,4-D. It will kill ragweed, which causes most hay fever, and it can be loaded into bombs, so that it may be dropped on "enemy" farms and orchards.

The Department of Defense has asked Congress for authority to send U. S. military missions anywhere in the world. Missions now are in Greece and Turkey and were in China till you know what.

* * *

An American officer in Berlin who wished a minor Russian official "all the best" for the New Year and invited him to dinner was told off by Col. Frank L. Howley, U. S. commandant in that city. Howley ordered his men to stop "fraternizing" with the Russians.

* * *

The National Military Establishment has issued a 72-page "Glossary of Guided-Missile Terms," including some that suggest the development of a "homing" missile that finds its own target.

Atomic Strip

Another of the unexpected by-products of the atomic bomb may be the making of millions of involuntary ecdysiasts out of now carefully clothed Americans. Anyway, that's what seems to be suggested by Howard W. Blakeslee, science editor for the Associated Press.

Mr. Blakeslee, writing about the dangers of "atomic rain," which follows the explosion of an atomic bomb, points out that every drop of the rain will carry "dangerous radioactive atoms." Cities deluged with this rain will have to be evacuated, since there is no way known to clean them up, and may have to remain empty for anywhere from "a few weeks to centuries."

The sudden nudists, according to Mr. Blakeslee, will be those unfortunates caught out in the rain. Their first move, he advises, must be to leap for the nearest doorway; the second, to "strip naked if your clothes have picked up any moisture."

It adds a new dimension to atomic war, all right. For many modest or paunch - ridden souls, the threat of complete exposure will be more alarming than the dangers of the war itself, and they should be likely prospects for a pacifist recruiting drive. For the rest, if the Freudians are right, the clatter of collapsing inhibitions may drown out even the bombs, and who is to say which will do the greater damage?

Silver Lining Dept.

The British Army put on a concentrated recruiting drive in the town of Woking—pop. 45,000. For three days armored cars raced through the streets, army bands played, and posters showed the way to the recruiting office. Result: one recruit.

* * *

A year-old newspaper clipping, dredged out of an abandoned pocket, quotes Army and Navy officers as explaining "new highs" in vacancies at West Point and Annapolis as due in part to the fact that "pacifist groups and Communist groups have been attacking military life and probably have dissuaded some young men from choosing military careers."

* * *

Government economists, reporting that unemployment increased by 700,000 in January, hasten to add the reassuring news that they are "not worried in the least." This will be especially good news to the 700,000.

Responsible for the World

A Letter from New Zealand

By A. C. BARRINGTON

ONLY A RASH MAN would try to predict the course pacifism is likely to take in New Zealand. We are few in numbers and without much apparent influence in church or nation generally. We are a long way from the storm centers and from pacifists who live in the state of permanent tension and crisis such centers create—although no part of the world is exempt from their effects. Indeed the farther removed we are the more harshly do pacifists seem to be treated.

We have ties of interest and friendship with the peace movement abroad, but this "paper" contact has severe limitations. We have more active contact even in that limited way with England than with Australia. The 1200 miles of Tasman Sea seem to create an effective barrier and this is heightened by the absence of the once regular weekly passenger ship. Curiously enough, we must set over against this isolation the fact that our members spread themselves around the world. At the moment they may be found in the Solomon Islands, Australia, Fiji, China, India, Greece; soon one will be in Switzerland; another has just returned from the World Council of Churches at Amsterdam.

Within New Zealand there are factors that make the path of pacifism slow and hard. Our hundred years of history reveal an emotional attachment to "the Old Country" which, side by side with a willingness to drive a hard bargain, has caused a fierce blind patriotism and loyalty to the Empire. If Britain is in a war or likely to be involved in one, then willy-nilly New Zealand is in it too without question, and with such fervor as to outdo "the Old Country" herself—proportionately—in men and material.

In 1898, when war tension was being maintained in Britain and there were strained relations with France over the Fashoda incident, the New Zealand *Herald* declared: "The general desire is that war should eventuate and that an opportunity should be given England to wipe out the insults offered." New Zealand sent a large contingent to the Boer War. I have before me a copy of the New Zealand *Times* for March 23, 1909 in which is blazoned a momentous offer New Zealand had made to pay the cost of a battleship for Britain, two if necessary, in view of "the gravity of the situation between Germany and the Motherland."

As far back as 1877 an Education Act stated that "in public schools provision should be made for the instruction in military drill of boys." The cadet system in our schools is almost universally operated and accepted. It is now being strengthened, with a colonel

as full-time organizer. Before this happened a German refugee said that it was worse than anything in the schools of Hitler Germany. It is nominally not compulsory but exemption must be applied for and this is rare.

A system of universal compulsory military training was in force until suspended for economy reasons during the depression of the early 'thirties. The present Labor Government took office in 1935. Traditionally anti-war, anti-conscription, anti-imperialism, as with Labor Parties everywhere the gaining of power soon causes abandonment of such notions and Labor outdoes the Conservatives in militarism, conscription, and so on. Our Prime Minister, Mr. Fraser, sent to prison for opposing conscription in 1916, not only introduced it in 1940 but is eager to impose compulsory military training ("national service") now. His colleague, Mr. Semple, who went to prison with him in 1916, was photographed for the Press in 1940 as Minister of National Service, drawing the first marble in the conscription ballots. The melancholy record of most politicians ought to occasion reflection as to whether political action as at present understood can ever produce a satisfactory form of society. I am convinced that the Good Society must be sought by other means and must be built "from the ground" upward.

In such a setting it is not surprising that the idea of pacifism comes to many people with a shock of surprise, incredulity and fear. Pacifism is not very respectable in New Zealand. The Christian Pacifist Society has about 525 members, who take a solemn covenant to work for peace and refuse all participation in war including non-combatant service of any kind. Many of these have no regular contact with other members and many are quite inactive. The PPU (now New Zealand Peace Union) is a long way behind the Christian Pacifist Society in numerical strength and activity, with some overlapping of membership.

Pacifists Repudiated

During the war, Christian Pacifist Society members challenged State and Church and were repudiated and condemned by both. About twenty of us went to prison, some several times, for continuing to preach peace and oppose war. In the course of a lightning tour of the North Island in January, 1940, I was arrested in Wanganui, Auckland and Gisborne, "marched out" of Stratford, Te Kuiti, and Tauranga by organized returned soldiers of the First World War, had tomatoes thrown at me in Stratford and eggs at New Plymouth, and my meetings were interrupted by the police at Hawera and Hamilton; I was prosecuted on five other occasions for holding a prohibited meeting, obstructing a public place, publishing a subversive statement and assisting an escaped CO; I was interviewed frequently by detectives in connection with our cyclostyled newsletter—which was confiscated whenever found in the post, and for which three of us were prosecuted, Ormond Burton getting 2½ years for editing one issue—and also in connection with a small CO advisory committee all of whose mail was censored; my home was searched by detectives who took all my papers and kept them for about a year. Ormond Burton

(decorated by French and British in World War I) was expelled from the Methodist ministry and Basil Dawling was dropped by the Presbyterians. If other pacifist clergy had stood firm and refused to accept these tragic actions by the Church, the Church might have been saved from itself. But in the main they remained "quiet" pacifists. They sidestepped their hour of destiny, their "finest hour," in a sense the hour for which they were made. I think that is why they seem so ineffective and lacking in leadership now. They did not lead or serve or speak the Word then. They cannot now. Before the war there was much pacifist sentiment and activity within the churches. Some passed resolutions (always with reservations, of course) but vague peace sentiments unsupported by radical change in world and national concepts and ways of living cannot stand when crisis comes. The door slams shut and is bolted with bitterness. And it is much harder to open now.

Seven Hundred COs

Seven hundred COs spent four to five years behind the barbed wire of detention camps or in prisons. Many of them were church and Bible class members. But the Church left them there without once challenging the system, the concepts, the State and the powers that enabled this incarceration of boys from 18 years upwards and in the main of obviously sterling Christian character. The Church was too busy supporting the war, providing chaplains and other comforts for soldier members, and the COs were an embarrassment.

All this adds up to great difficulty in approach and method. I believe the world cannot be saved except through a revived, revitalized and revolutionary Church. But although most of us are active in the Church, the Church will have nothing to do with pacifism or with pacifists *as* such.

This is the day when the State, and to an increasing extent the Church, are girding up their loins to defend themselves against a foe —communism. Communists are uncomfortable folk. They provoke and thrive on tension, discord, trouble. I wish it were the Church that was disreputable, feared, denounced and responsible for tension. The Church has no business to be respectable, safe and nationalistic. I wish it could be said again of the Church that "these that have turned the world upside down have come hither also." For this is one of the eternal functions of the Church.

I believe that Christian pacifists must be the rallying point for revolutionary thought and action, not avoiding but causing and welcoming tension and the stimulus needed to rouse the Church from its torpor. Pacifism is tremendously important. It is of the very essence of the Christian life and gospel. But it does not exist apart or as a thing by itself. War resistance, important though it is, is not enough, it is not even pacifism. It must move on to construct the Good Society, not waiting for politicians or prelates or the Church that is to be revitalized. Peacemaking involves not only the attempt to achieve reconciliation between peoples but also the creation of the social, economic and political patterns that make for peace in the world. Communists have one form of revelation. We

have another, or we ought to have. And we should get on with ours with even greater fervor, faith, courage and persistence than theirs, for we have been given the Truth that has set us free.

We are very few. But in another sense we are a great host without number. Every one of us is responsible for the world. Pacifists should not go on as if pacifism made no difference to the way they live and earn their bread and their social and economic relations.

Pacifist Action

The Christian Pacifist Society is doing the usual things—advertising in church papers; reviving requests to church courts, conferences, and assemblies to receive deputations (the Presbyterian General Assembly received one last week); occasional public meetings are held, one regular open-air meeting in a small town and occasional ones in the capital; an annual conference and a district convention; branches meeting regularly in Auckland, Palmerston North, Wellington, Nelson and Christchurch; we publish *The New Zealand Christian Pacifist* monthly.

For a small group in a small militaristic country and combined with active war resistance and a large preparation of COs, in one sense it is not unimpressive. But at a deeper level it adds up to very little. And until pacifists have a constructive alternative to the system and the values that lead to war, and demonstrate this alternative in action, pacifism everywhere will continue to be weak and will deserve to be ineffective, permanently poised (and paused) between two worlds—the old one destroying itself in endless wars and the new waiting to be born. It cannot come to birth unaided, nor without costly preparation.

When during the war the police used to prohibit and break up our meetings and arrest the speakers they had to justify themselves in court by swearing they feared a breach of the peace! When they could not produce tangible evidence they fell back on what they described as an "air of expectancy" in the crowd. In those days there was an air of expectancy and vitality amongst pacifists, if not among their audiences. Must we too be guilty of failure to carry over into "the peace" the costly action and willing self-sacrifice, that air of expectancy and sense of being at the heart of great events?

The Elementary Task

Not only police but people in general should have an air of expectancy, of new directions and light shining wherever Christians move. Until the churches regain the secret (and seed of their true life), Christian pacifists must themselves be the ferment, the upsetters, the tension-creators, the builders, in however miniature and insignificant a way, of the Good Society, with its implied and therefore feared threat to existing orders, values, security. All this (and all pacifism) is too readily expressed in words. First and foremost it is action that is needed and pacifists should be permanently at action stations. I have my own ideas about the kind of action and am trying to implement them. It seems to me to be an elementary and essential task for all of us.

Your Money or Your Life

By MILTON MAYER

IT WAS IN THE stock market crash of '29 that I learned that money is the national ideal. As a young and dispensable newspaper reporter in Chicago, I was rushed down to La Salle Street to cover the suicides of the speculators. "Better take an umbrella," said the city editor. "They're diving out of every window."

My discovery, on that occasion, was that there were men who could not face life without the big money; not without money, mind you, but without the *big* money. Some of the suicides during those gentle October and November days that year were men who were "cleaned," not "out," but "down." They were men who, some of them with no children or with grown and self-supporting children, had lost a million or two or five and had nothing left except a few hundred thousand dollars, or maybe twenty-five or fifty thousand. They could not, literally, face life without millions.

Others were in fact "cleaned out," but were in the prime of life, or not much beyond, and were abler, in terms of talent, experience, and connections, to get a job than most of their fellow-men. They couldn't face life that way. They couldn't bring themselves to go through bankruptcy, give up their estates for a kitchenette and their yachts for a seat in the street car, and go to work at the honorable job of managing a drug store or selling automobiles. Starting over—though, as I say, they were better equipped to do so than most men—was unthinkable to them.

But as '29 went into '30, and then into '31 and '32, I made an even more impressive discovery. I discovered that there were men who owned big insurance policies, with their wives as beneficiary, who had concluded that their money would be of more use to their wives than they themselves were. They committed suicide, and the most amazing thing about it was that their wives, whom I interviewed as widows, were uniformly of the opinion that their late husbands loved them to the point where they, the late husbands, could not bear to see their wives in "want." The "want" was, of course, the want of money, not the want of a husband's life.

The suicide wave in the big policy brackets wrecked a few insurance companies and staggered a few more, but the policies were paid, except in such cases where suicide was non-payable under the contract and the policy-holders tried to work the natural or accidental death device by taking trick poisons or running their cars into abutments. It always seemed to me that the companies were sordid in fighting these claims, less sordid only than the insured (deceased) himself.

That whole period in my life as a reporter was an everlasting wonder to me. My old man was, I had thought, a typical American

money-grubber, calculating his own and other men's worth in exclusively material terms and meaning "richer" or "poorer" when he said "better off" or "worse off." But I learned that, for an American, my old man was heroic. He was cleaned out in the crash, and, at the age of 65, he pulled himself out of the overstuffed chair in the "board room" of Halsey Stuart & Co., tore up his tickets, grabbed himself some paper box samples, hopped the Milwaukee Avenue street car, and was back selling paper boxes from store to store.

My old man may still have been a typical American, but I realized that he did not typify the American ideal. It was the men who were hitting the pavement with their heads—instead of, like my old man, with their feet—who typified the national ideal. They were the men who had made good. Pa had never quite got there; he had never quite realized the ambition of our time. And so he never quite dove out a window.

Sanctification of Money

But what I did see in Pa that reflected (if it didn't typify) the national ideal was the sanctification of money, and I have seen it everywhere since in most of my friends. When I say sanctification, I do not mean respect; I mean sanctification. My friends will disclose the most ghastly vices, just by way of after-dinner conversation, even reciting their own adulterous adventures, and without blushing or blinking. But just ask them how much their income was last year, or how much they paid for their houses, or how much they gave to charity, and watch them freeze. You may ask them about their innermost religious life, or about their own lusts or betrayals or exploitations, but when you ask them about their money, you have invaded a right which is secret to the point of sanctity.

Now all this leads me somewhere, so hang on while we round the bend. I think that maybe the sanctification of money has something to do, unconsciously, half-consciously, or subconsciously, with the hesitation of all of us pacifists, including, of course, me, to refuse to pay our income tax to a government which is spending 80 percent of it for war. Let me try, just for a minute, to establish the relationship.

Civil disobedience to personal military service is popular and is growing more so, and several hundred over-age men of substance and status have implicated themselves by counseling draftables who are moved in conscience to refuse to register. The clear penalty, for the over-agers as well as for draftables, is imprisonment. Though the court may impose a fine instead (or in addition), it seldom has, if ever.

But the man who thinks a man should not carry a gun should not buy him one, and this we all do when we pay taxes voluntarily and directly. (I am not concerned with the disingenuous argument that we have to pay taxes to live, e.g., on bread or on the gas, the wood, the oven, or the premises with, in, or on which we bake our own.) Now the ordinary penalty for refusal to pay taxes is distraint, that is, the seizure by the government of the money owed, plus a fine. The court may impose a prison sentence instead of a fine, but it

seldom, if ever, has where fraud is not charged.

Why are so many more pacifists willing to jeopardize their liberty than are willing to jeopardize their money? Why does overt civil disobedience, in the case of personal military service, have so many more advocates than tax refusal, which on its very face, is a milder form of disobedience than counseling men to refuse to bear arms?

I have read, I think, all the arguments for and against tax refusal. The arguments against it are no good if the arguments for draft resistance are good. Money is the indispensable means of war. Every young man in the nation could be a soldier, and there would be no war if there was no money. And the more modern modern warfare becomes, the less it depends on men and the more on money.

How can I, or you, or anyone be a pacifist and run an arsenal at the same time? The tax-refusal case is irresistible—and unappealing.

Why is it unappealing? I submit—only tentatively, and only suggestively—that it is because even we pacifists subscribe, unconsciously, half-consciously, or subconsciously, to the national ideal. I suspect—it's only a suspicion now, so don't get mad—that we pacifists, like the La Salle Street suicides of my infancy, love our money more than we love our liberty or our lives.

Song for a Boy's Hands

These strong young hands, almost a man's,
Are still unscarred, unmarked.
I see in them the image of other hands beloved:
My father's warm protective hands
That cherished me in childhood.
Work-worn calloused hands that were
My grandsire's; hands that held a plow,
That yours might hold a pencil thus,
Working problems in the light.

I remember yet how small and petal-soft
They clung around my larger fingers
When I rocked the wee boy lullaby;
The chubby little hands that spun the top,
Tight and bungling little fists flying kites.
Growing hands that held a saw and hammer,
Building aeroplanes and trains.

And now a young man's hands
That cherish as they guide.
I watch them in the light,
Servants of your nimble brain.
And all my mother blood is praying:
"O Father, let these dear hands go on building.
Let them be faithful servants of his kindly thoughts.
Somehow, dear God, work out a miracle
That they shall never be the hands of Cain."

—Mary Ritchey Wright

Minority Report on the Bruderhof

By HENRY H. LITTLE

LAST JULY FOUR OF US embarked for Paraguay to visit the New Hutterite communities at Primavera. I for one felt very deeply their challenge to private property,[1] and their call to renounce all selfish ways in the name of Jesus. As a family we had for several years been striving to come closer in practical day-to-day life to the teaching of Jesus. We had been seeking to place his way of love toward God and man at the center of our living. And we had through his grace been achieving a measure of success, but still we felt the challenge of the Bruderhof folk, especially in the matter of holding private property. But after two months living in their midst I have returned to our version of the simple life in the Vermont hills.

Shortly after my return a report from Primavera appeared in FELLOWSHIP, in part the work of two other members of our party who have remained with the Hutterites. After reading it, I am moved to submit the following minority report.

It is best, of course, in matters of this kind which may change the entire course of one's life not to be swayed unduly by the written word. *The only way for anyone to know if the Hutterite way is for him is to go and directly experience the life.* However, the distance is very great and travel proportionately costly, so I believe it is well for all reactions and conclusions to be made available for study and discussion. For this reason I have written this brief report of my personal conclusions about the Paraguayan Hutterite Society as I found it in 1948.

I found there a theocratic society which, according to Webster's Collegiate Dictionary, is: "Government of a state by immediate direction of God; hence, political rule by priests as representing God." Students of sociology recognize this social order as a very ancient type, also as one of the most anti-democratic. The teaching of Jesus, as I see it, is based on the belief that God will rule in the heart of every man who will rise sufficiently out of the selfhood to open his heart to God's love.[2] And I believe this teaching is the cornerstone of the social system we envision when we speak of democracy. In the Christian social order that must be born out of political democracy there will be none who represents God because God's love will function in each individual heart. Democracy has failed to abolish war, adultery and riches only because the people have not yet learned to live their daily lives by faith in the God of love.

Democracy must become religious but not theocratic, because as soon as it becomes theocratic it ceases to be democratic. And it is

1 Acts 4: 32.

2 John 14: 23.

well to remember that the crucifixion of Jesus was done in large measure by the rulers and the people of a theocratic society.

This then is one of two main reasons why I did not join the Hutterites in Paraguay.

The second reason was my discovery that the communistic method of land-holding and of housing tends to destroy family life. Family life in the home disappears into a larger unit called the "Hof" or house. This is a thing of many families, and the single family begins to lose its identity and its nexus with God and his creation.

The human family is the only social institution I have ever found to enjoy the blessings of Jesus. And it is not really a social institution but rather a biological or natural creation, a thing of God, whereas all forms of human society are a falling away from God.

A secondary reason, arising directly out of these two main reasons, for my turning away from the Paraguayan Hutterites as I found them is their lack of concern over self-sufficient, or as we prefer to call it, God-sufficient living. The early Hutterites adhered to the same basis of buying only iron and salt that we are striving toward at Sky Cottage, but, as one brother in Paraguay put it: "Yes, but it didn't make them very popular!" To which I could only reply that it was not Jesus' popularity that brought him to the cross, but rather his challenge to Mammon and Mammon's ways.

But the most objectionable feature to me of this lack of concern over God-sufficient living was their practice of hiring native peons to do their heavy, dirty work in field and forest and slaughterhouse for money.

To me this is a breach of the law of Love that we shall love our neighbors as ourselves. And one brother admitted to my direct inquiry that there had been some division over the Christianity of this policy,[3] but those for hiring the work done carried the day. This condition alone made it impossible for me any longer to consider seriously becoming a novice of the society.

Nothing I have written here is done in a spirit of judgment upon the Hutterian brothers. It is simply my personal need that in a world of masters and servants, I must strive to build that Kingdom wherein all men shall be servants of the one Master.

And so I have come back from the Hutterites, but not without leaving many good friends there. They are to my mind the most Christian church I have ever known, but I was not seeking a church. I seek the Kingdom of God on Earth. And I know that in that Kingdom, home-and-family is the basic unit after the individual human spirit. Neither priest nor politician nor king need in that Kingdom set up to represent God. God is God and seeks no representatives to rule for him. His rule is by the spirit of love which enters wherever the spirit of self is dethroned. We have only to seek his Kingdom, and it is found, closer than we thought, in our own hearts.

(*Please turn to page* 18)

[3] For a powerful discussion of the propriety of Christians subjecting their brothers to wage-slavery see "The Slavery of Our Times" by Leo Tolstoi, in *Essays from Tula.*

Did prewar Europe's co-ops survive? Here is the story of what is happening as the—

Co-ops Come Back

By FRED NORA

AFTER TWO SUMMERS spent visiting the postwar cooperative efforts in Europe toward uniting consumers in the interest of securing peace in the markets of the world, I am convinced of at least two things. *First:* members of peace organizations and religious groups not afraid of "the social gospel" should give support to the economic and educational efforts toward peace represented by the consumers cooperative movements here and abroad. *Second:* cooperators might well re-examine the various nationalisms that further weaken the struggling International Cooperative Alliance and compromise the moral basis of their contention that cooperation is a way to peace, and seek through an effective international cooperative trading agency to overcome the acute shortages that today are holding back membership growth in Europe's cooperatives.

Both "peacemakers" and cooperators—too often I have found them to constitute separate and mutually suspicious groups—should strive to strengthen the weak confederation that is the United Nations into a functional and therefore functioning federal world government. Cooperators must at the same time transform the International Cooperative Alliance from a confederation of the managers of national cooperative movements into a true United Co-operators of the World along the federal principle of cooperation toward the defined ends we cannot attain separately.

In Germany

Not far from the Soviet Transient Relocation Center and its next-door neighbor, a U. S. Military police barracks in Brunswick, Germany, I noticed a sign: *Konsumgenossenschaft,* and above a co-op store my interpreter and I found the headquarters of the Consumers Cooperative Society of Brunswick.

In 1938 fifty consumer-owned shops dotted Brunswick, once a city of the Hanseatic League and today said to be a bulwark of competitive, private profit business. Brunswick is torn apart by cleavages that keep various parties and sects from cooperating for the good of all. In 1919 the city voted Communist; in 1932 Brunswick heralded the swing to Hitler. But six years later, at the Munich-peak of the power of anti-cooperative nazism, 14,000 Brunswick families were finding it worth while to follow the cooperative pattern of free enterprise—own, control and save

as member-patrons—by their 39 food and 10 meat shops, plus a co-op factory.

Back in 1933 SS men attacked and disabled the Brunswick co-op manager. Although they did not then molest cooperators or their store buildings, the "good Nazis" were careful not to shop co-op. By 1939 German cooperators were finding it increasingly difficult to purchase their full share of rationed foods at the cooperatives, but patrons of private merchants reported no such "shortages."

Finally, in 1942, the Nazi government after nine years of rule felt able to offend several million German cooperators by seizing their shops, factories, warehouses, credit unions and other assets for exploitation as part of the German Labor Front and abolishing cooperative memberships—apparently with some intention to reward valiant veterans with a free business of their own. The Nazi government as "proprietors" of co-op shops then turned around and urged former cooperators and the public to patronize their former Konsum shops—for now all proceeds went into the Labor Front coffers!

Although Brunswick was largely reduced to rubble by October, 1944, only five of the fifty co-op shops were much damaged. Now all are repaired and manned by 335 employees, serving 11,160 family-members in the population of 200,000. The required monthly report to the British military government for July, 1948, showed about $150,000 paid-in shares.

"Congratulations on your passing the 10,000-member mark," the Cooperative Section of military government wrote on the return report. "Keep up the good work!" With co-op women's guilds meeting and weekly lessons given to new employees, the Brunswick society officially reported its public relations as "good." The co-op president is favorably known as a civic-minded leader in other than cooperative circles, as are others.

"We could get more members if we had more goods to sell," the manager told me, and remarked also that the cooperative finds it difficult to negotiate its share of the city's weekly food allotment from the profit merchants. He claimed the co-op was not only selling at lower prices than private shops, but had paid a 5 percent patronage refund to members—which totaled about $35,000 for the six months ending December 31, 1947.

Co-ops in Norway

I arrived in Oslo from Germany the day on which the head of Norway's cooperative wholesale and educational society was desperately trying to find enough deutschemarks to pay his way to Hamburg, where he was anxious to attend the annual congress of the recently reactivated German Cooperative Society—at the latter's invitation. It has been good to see these signs of reconciliation among the world's cooperators, especially significant when I recall that some of my friends employed by the Norse co-ops saw the inside of German concentration camps (their employer presenting them, upon their release, with all back wages). Norwegians found the occupation a bitter pill to swallow, with resulting food shortages still acute. (Ration books do not even have meat tickets:

everyone eats fish today in Norway). The Nazis had suppressed the monthly magazine which now is read by 225,000 Norwegian families who shop co-op. One of its readers, who himself has been in the army and under the occupation, told me last summer that "I no longer am bitter toward Germans, I pity them; blame won't help."

Quotas Not Raised

When, during my second visit in Norway, I asked the head of the co-op wholesale's textile department if I might buy a needed necktie, he replied: "We have so very little to sell now." We passed rows of nearly empty shelves and finally located a dozen drab, shapeless cravats imported from England—all the national warehouse had to supply the hundreds of local co-ops!

"Cooperation has developed greatly in Norway both during and after the war," the textile director explained. "In 1938 we had 626 societies and 169,175 members; today we have 1,079 societies and about 250,000 members. Despite this great increase, our quotas haven't been raised by the (Labor) government. Thus, we are unable to supply our new members without taking goods from the quotas of our old members, and so many of our co-ops have to buy a greater part of their goods from the private wholesalers. The cooperatives want their prewar quotas raised in proportion to the increase in membership, but private businessmen oppose this. Also, it is very difficult to get permission (and such currency as dollars) to build new factories, get machinery, or obtain permission to modernize our old factories and offices or to enter new lines."

Not only in Norway, but also in Denmark and France I found the consumer cooperatives hampered by shortages that preclude their taking in more than a fraction of the applicants for membership. With poorer-than-prewar goods today rationed to Europe's stores on the basis of their smaller sales volumes of the late '30s, cooperatives seem—partly because of their member-patron ownership—harder hit than private dealers.

In Denmark import quotas have been in force since 1932. Today, as a result, Danish co-ops get merely their 1931 proportion of imported goods to supply a membership which in the same time has increased by 40 percent to a total of 435,000 (35 percent of Denmark's families).

French Show Growth

In France the Germans did not incorporate the cooperatives into their Labor Front, but they were present at all co-op business meetings—until they became convinced the cooperators were holding to the Rochdale rule of political neutrality and nothing "useful" would be said. A co-op that distributed seed potatoes to its members for planting, as ordered by the Germans, never delivered the expected crop to the authorities and argued with them over the price of potatoes until the war ended!

France entered its postwar inflation and shortages with 20 regional consumer-owned wholesale societies and perhaps 2,500,000 members—plus a farmers' marketing movement of comparable extent. Largest regional is Les Coopera-

teurs de Lorraine, with headquarters at Nancy and 800 shops scattered from the Belgian to the Swiss frontiers.[1] The membership increased from 175,000 in 1938 to 200,000 in 1947 although total sales remained stationary because of shortages and inflation, the purchasing director told me.

The nationwide cooperative wholesale in Paris has been given charge of all imports of certain goods, such as African oranges, but its share, like that of others, was limited to prewar quotas. The government—perhaps while Co-operator Paul Ramadier was still premier—did increase the co-op quotas enough to supply 150,000 new members. Even this was but a fraction of the Frenchmen getting small wages in inflated francs who want to shop co-op, the manager of the national wholesale indicated.

Last summer he told me that "only a handful" of French societies were controlled by Communists and "even in these leftist co-operatives the member-patrons who are Communists nearly always decide questions of co-op policy in accordance with their personal interests as cooperative consumers—and not on the basis of any party line." And the management is no more Communist than the bulk of French cooperators, who seem to be near the center, with the leaders apparently favoring democratic socialism.

[1] This co-op society was born after World War I, when the American Friends Service Committee gave to the farmers of Lorraine stock piles of building materials left over after the Quakers had directed the reconstruction of homes bombarded on the Western Front. The farmers themselves decided to sell cooperatively whatever each one needed of the goods given to them collectively.

Although co-op stores dot the working-class sections of Paris, I talked with many French persons ignorant of, if not hostile to, cooperatives. French co-op leaders in 1947 were invited by their army to visit the French Zone of Germany with the possibility of helping the German ex-cooperators to revive their societies, but "for political reasons it has not seemed feasible to French cooperators that they direct the reactivating of German cooperatives. It is not democratic for co-op activities to be 'directed' in the first place, nor would French direction lend as much unity to the German movement as the continuation of help to German cooperatives in all zones by the International Cooperative Alliance."

Occupation Officials Aid

While French authorities have taken much time to screen out Nazi-minded Germans before encouraging restored co-op enterprises in their zone, American, British and Soviet officials more quickly have helped to revive German co-ops—while planning to "judge cooperators on their deeds" later, the manager of the French wholesale reported. Along with the problem of "designating co-op managers" in the French Zone, he cited as additional barriers lost lists of co-op members, bombed stores and a dearth of consumer goods.

What about Finland? There, in 1947, I saw the sort of competition for members and duplication of costly manufacturing and distributing facilities that certainly is not unknown in the relations among the 20-odd regional consumer cooperatives in the United States. A

farmers' consumer co-op runs a wholesale-factory-shop set-up that is practically duplicated by the city workers who in 1916 split from the parent co-op, SOK, because the farmers—who were in control—opposed the militant cooperative political action program advanced by the urban, less conservative, faction. Today each society claims about 425,000 Finns as members.

Finnish cooperators gave us visiting cooperators from America more shirts, toilet articles and books from their meager supply than did those of any other co-op we saw in northern Europe. Finland was depriving herself of most consumer comforts in a determined effort to produce on time—or sooner—the goods demanded by Russia as war reparations.

American Co-ops Rôle

I have let whatever I saw and heard of the cooperatives in Europe during the last two summers suggest to the reader what I believe are some of the problems faced by cooperatives.

What about the United States—whose citizens are judged by many Europeans on the basis of the gaudy materialism, lack of culture and casual ethics portrayed in the Hollywood movies we peddle around the globe? Europeans are not always immune to unwarranted generalizations, which is one reason why an American traveling abroad these days may feel that he is surely being looked *at*, if not always up to. I have heard some Europeans insist that *all* Americans are reactionary capitalists who not only do not understand the difference between the cultures of East and West, but who may not have been above using the war to bomb enough of Europe's economy beyond repair to make the States the merchant for all who live on the shores of the Atlantic, and thus cushion American capitalism from a depression. To persons who gave me this line, the European Recovery Program may be merely "industrial warfare." None of my friends in the European cooperatives seemed of this extremely anti-American attitude.

What role in European recovery and control of the Ruhr is available to the Cooperative League of the U.S.A. and the consumer-cooperative pattern? In January, 1947, top men in the Co-op League dismissed as impractical the suggestion that American aid—especially machinery and seeds for European farmers—might well be channeled for more rational distribution and use through existing co-ops. One conservative Congressman admitted that cooperators usually are solid, middle-of-the-road, antitotalitarian citizens and that therefore to send American aid through cooperatives sounded like a good anti-Red measure.

Big Powers debate ways of running the Ruhr industries. I saw a number of busy steel mills in Germany surrounded by the bombed former homes of their workers. Murray D. Lincoln, president of the Co-op League, recently suggested that a cooperative be created to control and develop these resources—in preference to political or cartel exploitation. The Cooperative News Service reports that "the idea is receiving a great deal of attention in the nation's capital and may prove to be an important factor in international policy," with "facilities of the Co-

operative League" now "all being directed to support the idea and many friends of cooperatives are urging it on the President."

Columnist Drew Pearson recently endorsed the proposal for "neutral cooperatives," with "small neutral countries given a dominant part in the management" and the "balance of power" over the large nations, to run the Ruhr. Since most of Europe depends upon getting coal and steel from Germany, says Pearson, thus "the consumers are even more concerned than the producers" that Ruhr raw materials "continue to build up a peaceful Europe," and with "the consumer nations of Europe" deserving a share in their control. Just because a scheme to make heavy industry and mines the property of consumer nations appears grandiose, is no reason to condemn it and thereby perhaps be guilty of condoning a return to the evils of "cartels über alles!"

The International Cooperative Alliance represents nearly 100,000,000 cooperators—half of the world's total in nearly 40 countries —and it is the world's largest consumer confederation. ICA is a consultative member of United Nations Economic and Social Council; ICA was made part of UN's Food and Agriculture Organization and its plan to stabilize world order through a more equitable and cheaper distribution of food resources among peoples; ICA in 1946 got 23 national cooperative wholesales to organize the International Cooperative Petroleum Association; ICA since the early 1900s has during peace and war linked cooperators across frontiers, and cooperated with peace movements, labor and farm interests. ICA has worked for an international cooperative wholesale such as Scandinavian co-ops have today.

The writer believes the International Cooperative Alliance deserves more support from national cooperative movements than it has been getting. The 9,000,000 members of Britain's Cooperative Wholesale Society—oldest and largest in the world—should be ashamed to fly the rainbow flag of international cooperation while ICA is still cramped into a London back-alley office. ICA has but the skeleton of the staff and budget necessary to get the cooperators of the world behind its proposal (tabled in 1947 by UN's Economic and Social Council) to internationalize the world's oil resources for peace. American cooperators interested in reducing the causes of war by removing the barriers to free trade among peoples would do well to strengthen the International Cooperative Alliance and its political counterpart, the United Nations.

Bruderhof, concluded . . .

I have a few personal opinions of what form the Kingdom of Love will take on earth: it will be life without war or adultery or riches, even as the Hutterites live. But it will also be made up of homes and gardens (*private* homes and gardens, if you will); and for those who are not ready for the simple life, cooperative ways of handling money and buying and selling will gradually supplant selfish ways. And all this only as the God of love is permitted to rule in our hearts.

News from the Peace Front

Prosecutions Continue in Nonregistrant Cases

Sentenced

Nonregistrants are going to jail throughout the country in increasingly large numbers, with prosecutions being put through, apparently, as quickly as the law-enforcement machinery can handle them.

Austin Regier, Mennonite who spent three years in CPS during the war, received a sentence of a year and a day in early January for refusing to register. Regier comes from Moundridge, Kansas.

Harold Flakser, 23, of Brooklyn, was sentenced to a year and a day on December 30. Flakser served in the Army for nine months during the war, but refused to register for the draft because he feels the Army is totalitarian and undemocratic.

Robert White, 22, radio and television actor who was in the merchant marine during the war, finally registered on December 30. He said he was in doubt whether the act of registration was a violation of his conscience. He received a suspended sentence of a year and a day, and two years probation.

Joe Craigmyle of Phoenix, Arizona, got a one-year sentence on January 2. Ammon Hennacy picketed the courthouse during the trial.

Paul D. Cates, 23, of East Vassalboro, Maine, a student at Haverford College, received a two-year sentence on December 28. Dr. Gilbert White, president of Haverford, appeared for him and testified to the centuries-long tradition of opposition to conscription in Cates' Quaker background.

Gerald Williams, 22, of Vinalhaven, Maine, also received a two-year sentence on December 28, in the same court as Cates. Williams, the son of missionaries, had lived in India for many years and had been influenced by Gandhi's philosophy.

Robert McInnes of San Francisco, Navy veteran who is studying at the Pacific School of Religion, reported himself to U. S. Attorney Karesh for failure to register. "This," said unhappy Mr. Karesh to a reporter, "was the last kind of case I wanted. We've been trying to settle this without prosecuting. The Selective Service Director told me to handle this thing 'delicately.' So I tried to be delicate and whoom! The bottom falls out."

Karesh tried to get McInnes' wife to persuade him to register, but she would not. "She thinks her husband is a hero," said Karesh. McInnes received a sentence of three months in jail from Chief Federal Judge Michael J. Roche in San Francisco on January 13.

Charles Rickert, 19-year-old Bluffton (Ohio) College student, was sentenced on January 20 to 18 months for refusal to register.

Herbert C. Standing, Leland Standing, David S. Wyman, Russell A. Henderson, David E. Jensen and *Harvey L. Marshall,* all

students at William Penn College in Oskaloosa, Iowa, were sentenced on January 17 to 18 months apiece in Federal prison, for nonregistration.

Norman M. Moody, 25, of Lexington, Kentucky, ex-CPS smokejumper, received a sentence of a year and a day in Federal prison, on January 17.

In the Toils

Edgar R. Norton, 20, of Glens Falls, New York, was indicted on December 16 for refusal to register. He pleaded innocent in U. S. District Court on December 30, and was given until January 10 to raise $2,000 bail.

Gilbert Butler, of Alabama, is out on $1,000 bail awaiting trial.

Douglas Parker and *William Probasco,* both Quakers and students at Wilmington College in Ohio, are awaiting trial.

Stanley C. Wright of Illinois registered, after thinking it over, and his case was dismissed.

Harold Burnham, Roy Knight, Donald Laughlin and *Don Mott,* all of Iowa, are awaiting trial.

Arlo Tatum, 25, who was sentenced in 1941 to three and a half years' imprisonment for refusal to register for the wartime draft, was arraigned on December 13 in Des Moines for nonregistration under the present Act. He was released on $500 bail for later trial.

Dr. Wirt A. Warren, practicing physician, was indicted by a Federal Grand Jury in Wichita, Kansas, for counseling his stepson not to register. The case promises to be remarkable, both for its implication that a parent cannot advise his son on religious matters and because of the fact that the stepson did actually register according to law.

Thirty-Six Protest Prosecutions

A group of thirty-six prominent Americans, who do not themselves take the nonregistrant position, has sent a letter to the editors of newspapers protesting the prosecution of nonregistrants. The letter, signed by Pearl Buck, John Dos Passos, Pitirim A. Sorokin, Louis Adamic and others, reads in part:

"Do men who endeavor literally to carry out the injunctions of the Sermon on the Mount merit penitentiary sentences? Must the stigma of felons be attached to them because in refusing to do what to us is a mere matter of form they remain as steadfast in their convictions as the early Christians who would not offer the pinch of incense before the emperor's image?"

The letter points out that these men could be given suspended sentences or probation, rather than being sent to jail. Other signers include Louis Untermeyer, Frank Aydelotte, Bishops Cushman, Lawrence, Ludlow, Remington, and Parsons, Christopher La Farge, Mordecai Johnson, and others.

NSBRO Has New Director

A. Stauffer Curry of Palmyra, Pennsylvania, FOR member who had been secretary of the field program of the Brethren Service Commission since 1946, was appointed Executive Secretary of the National Service Board for Religious Objectors in January. Offices of the NSBRO are located at 941 Massachusetts Avenue, Washington 1, D. C.

Half of Budget for Cold War and Defense

On January 10 President Truman sent his Budget to Congress for the fiscal year July 1, 1949 through June 30, 1950. The total budget was $41,858,000,000, the highest peacetime budget in this country's history. It also includes the highest budget for defense and war preparation in peacetime.

Expenditures for national defense are estimated at $14,300,000,000, compared with $11,800,000,000 last year. International affairs and finance account for $6,700,000,000, of which $4,500,000,000 will be spent as economic support to the "free nations of western Europe." *Not* included in the budget, big as it is, were funds to provide purely military supplies for these countries, which the President warned he would ask for later.

Veterans services and benefits will be $5,500,000,000, and interest on the public debt $5,400,000,000. All of the expenses for veterans and most of the public debt are the result of past wars.

Welfare, health and social security, in contrast, will take $2,357,000,000, housing $387,000,000, education $414,000,000.

The President also asked for the passage of UMT, and estimated that $600,000,000 would be needed for that next year. When in full operation the program would probably require expenditures of $2,000,000,000 annually, he said. (Some reliable military authorities estimate it at $5,000,000,000.) He asked that Selective Service be retained until the passage of UMT, although he said that very few men would be drafted under the present law.

British CO's Sentence Reduced

Peter Green, 18-year-old student who refused to register under Britain's National Service Act and was sentenced to three years' Borstal treatment, appealed and received a year's imprisonment instead.

FELLOWSHIP reported erroneously that the original sentence was for three years in prison. Borstal treatment is an enlightened and reformatory system.

Peter Green is serving his year's imprisonment in Wormwood Scrubs Prison, where many British COs served during the war, and is due for release in March under the British remission arrangements.

Muriel Lester Will Visit United States

Muriel Lester, traveling IFOR Secretary who spent two months this winter traveling in India, Australia and New Zealand, and who was the guest of Devadas Gandhi, son of the Mahatma, at the Indian Nationalist Congress in January, will be in the United States this summer. She will conduct the worship at the three FOR Summer Conferences, which will be held on August 9-14 in the South, August 16-21 in Michigan or Wisconsin, and August 23-28 in Colorado.

After that she will be on the Pacific Coast until the end of September, in the South and Midwest through October, and in the East during November and early December. Groups or individuals desiring her services should write to Nevin Sayre in the National FOR Office.

Race Situation in Higher Education

A good deal of good news is coming out of the colleges, particularly in the South, about the changing attitude on segregation. The Board of Curators of the University of Missouri on December 2 recommended that state laws be amended to permit the admission of Negroes to state-supported institutions of higher learning if they wished to pursue courses not offered at Lincoln University, the Negro school.

At College Park, Maryland, Dr. H. C. Byrd, President of the University of Maryland, announced that beginning next fall qualified Negro students will be admitted to the graduate school of the University and will be housed on the campus. Dr. Byrd also stated that he felt that gradually the undergraduate part of the University should be opened to Negro students, and that it was clearly the obligation of the University to see that all Maryland students, regardless of race, were able to get an education. He added that he hoped also gradually to integrate qualified Negro instructors into the curriculum of the University.

In Oklahoma, however, a three-man Federal Court denied the plea of G. W. McLaurin, graduate student and Negro, to attend classes on a non-segregated basis. McLaurin was admitted recently to the University of Oklahoma, the first Negro ever to attend classes there, and is seated in an anteroom to the rooms where his classes are held, but where he can see and hear the professors.

Ada Lois Sipuel Fisher, who was ordered admitted to the University of Oklahoma law school by the United States Supreme Court has not yet been admitted. The school set up a Negro law school for her, with three professors, instead of enrolling her in the regular school. She claims that that did not represent equal education.

The case of Heman Sweatt is similar to that of Mrs. Fisher. He applied for admission to the University of Texas law school, where a Jim Crow school was set up for him, as it was for Mrs. Fisher.

Another case which is being fought through the courts is that of Lyman T. Johnson, who seeks admission to the graduate school of the University of Kentucky.

In spite of Mrs. Fisher's still unsuccessful fight, there is no doubt that the Supreme Court decision in her case has had and will have a far-reaching effect. In the case of both the University of Missouri and the University of Maryland the decision was referred to as one which plainly laid the responsibility for the higher education of Negroes on the state institutions and there is no doubt that, although it may not have been specifically referred to, it is having its effect on the other cases too.

In spite of the Supreme Court's decision last year that restrictive covenants could not be enforced, the practice still continues, a United Press survey found. Property-holders can still agree not to sell to Negroes or Jews, and many banks will refuse to lend money on property regarded as having "a cloud in the title." This is frequently interpreted to include the possibility of violation of a restrictive covenant.

Norwegian Quakers Question Defense Tax

The Norwegian Government has levied a £5,000,000 defense tax and has refused, in answer to inquiries from Quakers, to recognize any conscientious objection to the payment of the tax.

The Norwegian Yearly Meeting has sent the government a letter, calling attention to the convictions of Friends which are opposed to war preparations, and suggesting that they be allowed to contribute instead to some humanitarian project, preferably an international one. "If there cannot be found another way to make a contribution to the public good even for those who will not support war preparations, it will be necessary for the sake of conscience to refuse to pay and take the consequences which will result," the letter said.

Council Members Newly Installed

The thirteen people who received the highest votes in the recent election for FOR Council members were Charles F. Boss, Rufus D. Bowman, Henry Hitt Crane, J. Passmore Elkinton, Caleb Foote, Harry Emerson Fosdick, Nelson Fuson, Cecil Hinshaw, John Haynes Holmes, Charles Iglehart, Edgar Jones, Walter Muelder and Douglas Steere. They will serve for the two years 1949 and 1950. Caleb Foote, Nelson Fuson and Cecil Hinshaw are freshmen on the Council, but the others have all served before.

A total of 2,045 ballots were cast, and out of the twenty candidates listed the lowest received 729 votes and the highest 1,740, which indicates a very healthy spread.

The Spring meeting of the Council will be held May 19-21, probably in New York.

Race Riots Spread in S. Africa

On January 13 bloody race rioting broke out in Durban, South Africa, between Zulu and Indian inhabitants, and reports of those killed ran from 100 to 500. Although the situation in Durban seemed to be improving a few days later, riots had spread by that time to surrounding towns and to Johannesburg.

It was reported that the rioting in Durban started after a Negro boy was injured in a fight with an Indian peddler, and that most of the offensive rested with South African Negroes. However, bands of Indians had organized themselves for revenge. The police estimated that 25,000 Indians had been driven from their homes in Durban.

Dr. Alfred G. Fisk of the San Francisco State College, an FOR member, is organizing a Seminar for this summer in Europe in the tradition of Sherwood Eddy's pre-war Seminars. As on Dr. Fisk's previous Seminars, the group will study conditions and interview leaders of government, the church, relief, labor and peace groups.

Clarence E. Pickett, Executive Secretary of the American Friends Service Committee and an FOR member, went to Cairo in January in connection with the work of the AFSC among the Arabs.

Garry Davis Hailed by French

"Citizen of the World" Garry Davis, the American who resigned his citizenship in Paris last May, has since been urging the convening of a "People's Peace Assembly." Most of the editorial comment on Davis' act at first was of the slightly exasperated, slightly patronizing kind that credited him with good intentions, but said he would accomplish nothing. Now that the French people, and people all over the world, are getting enthusiastic about him, the commentators are beginning to take him seriously.

In September, while workmen were trying feverishly to finish work on the Palais Chaillot in time for the meeting of the General Assembly of the UN, Davis appeared on the steps of the building. He was threatened with expulsion from France, since he had no papers, and his permit was running out, so he was taking refuge on international ground. On the day before the Assembly opened the French government decided to invade the "international territory" and capture him. Eventually, however, his permit was renewed, and he was allowed to walk the streets of Paris again, and set his foot on other than the sacred ground of the UN.

For awhile, he was forgotten; but before the Assembly ended there was a tremendous resurgence of interest. A committee formed to support him, including Albert Camus, André Breton, Jean Paulhan, Paul Vercors, Jean-Paul Sartre, Carlo Levi, and FOR member and pastor Henri Roser, and held a press conference for him which was attended by 200 reporters. One day 2,000 people gathered to hear him speak; the next week 20,000. Two nights later at the Salle Pleyel the intelligentsia of Paris heard and applauded him, and spoke in support of him. At the height of the meeting a French soldier from the audience climbed onto the stage and declared that the people were with him. "But what shall we do?" he begged. "Shall we refuse military service? Tell us what to do."

They sent him away with promises that things to do would be forthcoming — later. But Garry Davis has caught the imagination of Europe's people, and his movement is gaining momentum.

J. Alvarez Del Vayo, writing in *The Nation*, analyzes this movement. "Americans should realize the significance of all this. . . . No Garry Davis could have so fascinated the most critical and most intelligent people in the world if he had not come from the United States. This may sound flattering, but in a deeper sense it has serious implications. . . . The response to Garry Davis' message dramatizes the fact that in the opinion of most Europeans whether or not there is to be a war depends upon the United States. . . . The important fact to report about Europe in 1948 is the tremendous desire for peace."

The West German parliamentary assembly, meeting at Bonn, has drawn up a constitution for that section of the country. Included in the section on basic rights is this: "No one may be compelled, against his conscience, to bear arms in military service. The details are to be regulated by law."

Farm Group Urges Forrestal Ouster

The National Farmers Union on January 24 called for the removal of James Forrestal as Secretary of Defense on the ground that he was "recklessly juggling" with the issue of war and peace. The report, issued by James G. Patton, president of the Farmers Union, urged that Forrestal be "replaced by a civilian with a civilian mind and heart," and suggested that the huge military budget be cut in half, and half diverted to "such expenditures, and the production and services they represent, as serve the needs of the people."

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WANTED: FOR members who will make their contributions early in the year. It will save you the annoyance of further mailings, and us the expense. Send to 2929 Broadway, New York 25, N. Y.

Communists Welcome Friends

Half of the workers in the Friends Service Unit in China are now in Communist territory, including the main unit at the Chungmou hospital in Honan province. The day after the arrival of the Communists signs were painted up on the walls, welcoming the foreigners and urging them to stay, an almost unheard-of compliment to foreigners from either Communist or Nationalist sources.

How About That?

A. J. Muste's going begging for a secretary . . . the FOR National office wants an office manager . . . can you tie that? We don't know why it's hard to find people for these jobs, because those of us who work in the National office like it so much we'd expect people to come pouring in whenever there's an opening. Working conditions are darn near ideal (we *love* our bosses!); salaries are based on need, agreed on by the entire staff; we don't have to tell you the satisfactions of working for what you believe in deeply; and whatever out-of-towners say (how would *they* know?), New York is better than a place "I like to visit but . . ."

So come on, you shy secretaries and office managers! We want you here, and you'll love it if you come!

FOR National Office

2929 Broadway, New York 25, N. Y.

FOR Field Secretaries

Midwest: Albert Watson, 740 Rush Street, Chicago 11, Ill.; *Far West:* Orval Etter, 1941 Oregon Street, Berkeley 3, Cal.; *Southwest:* Glenn Smiley, Room 115, 213 S. Broadway, Los Angeles 12, Cal.; *Middle Atlantic:* Charles Walker, 2006 Walnut Street, Philadelphia 3, Pa.

Books

"Americanism"—One Brand

The Inside Story of the Legion, by Justin Gray, with Victor H. Bernstein. Boni and Gaer, Inc., 1948. 255 pages, $3.00.

Readers who have had their fill of the confessions of recanting Leftists may find a refreshing change of pace in the explosive exit of Justin Gray from the ranks of the militant Rightists. Mr. Gray is still a Legionnaire, but he is no longer in the select group that formulates American Legion policy. Fired from his post as assistant director of the Legion's National Americanism Commission, Mr. Gray is now among the dissenting minority of Legionnaires who hope to reform that organization.

The main theme of Mr. Gray's "inside story" is that the Legion is run not in the interests of veterans but in the interests of Big Business. He furnishes evidence that the Legion from its very outset was established to put down "radicalism," "Bolshevism," "strikers" and the like, that it was organized and secretly subsidized by American financial leaders as a patriotic sounding board for their views, and that it is still busy promoting the aims of the National Association of Manufacturers, even when those aims are contrary to those of rank-and-file Legionnaires.

It is not news to most readers that various Legion posts since 1919 have piled up a sorry record of strong-arm tactics against organized labor, strong-arm tactics against racial minorities, strong-arm tactics against public and private gatherings of persons whose views, while not necessarily harmful, do differ from those of Legion officials. What Mr. Gray does, however, is equate such strong-arm tactics with the Legion's working definition of "Americanism." He exposes the off-stage thinking of the Legion's "top brass" and shows to what ends they utilize an annual budget of $5,500,000.

In the field of "Americanism," Mr. Gray says (and this was his special field) that the Legion hierarchy works hand in hand with the NAM in fighting anything that smacks of "socialism," and this seems to include everything from housing legislation to national health measures. Under the same heading of "Americanism," the Legion officials also work closely with the FBI in compiling lists of suspected subversives, and some of them, he claims, exchange information and propaganda tools with the most notorious race-baiters and pro-fascists in the country.

As a Legionnaire, Mr. Gray is sorely troubled by the self-perpetuation in office of a small group of Legion "kingmakers" who either crush or disregard the will of the majority. He disapproves of their totalitarian tactics in refusing charters to labor posts and their crass bigotry in not helping Negro

veterans. He believes, however, that the Legion, if democratized, could be a powerful force for peace and that there are enough liberal-minded World War II veterans in the Legion to reshape it for constructive purposes. His concluding hope is that the young Legionnaires will bring about that miracle—a hope which must certainly be shared by many others.

—Edgar L. Jones

Niebuhrian "Revolutionary"

Christianity and Communism, by John C. Bennett. Association Press, 1948. 128 pp., $1.50.

John Bennett begins this 128-page book with his conviction that "the errors of communism are in large part the result of the failure of Christians and of Christian churches to be true to the revolutionary implications of their own faith." Yet the book does not suggest anything remotely approaching revolutionary living. In the economic sphere one should accept elements of capitalism, socialism, and the cooperative movement. With respect to war, one should love his enemies and avoid preventive wars, but it is not necessary to reject war completely. The nearest the book comes to anything revolutionary is an endorsement in general terms of democracy and Reinhold Niebuhr's theory of relativity.

No one would quarrel with John Bennett's idea that the New Testament "gives us the perspective from which to judge all social programs, and . . . constrains us to find the best possible program in each particular situation." But when one places the emphasis on the "particular situation" in the sense that it may demand "technical or political means" which are, to say the least, questionable, he is far from being revolutionary in the sense that Jesus was. Jesus did not try to rationalize evil. Nor did he live in an ivory tower. In an evil society he did the will of God, and he called upon others to "be perfect" as their father in heaven is perfect. John Bennett emphasizes too much the idea that "the Christian" can "do whatever seems to be required of him in the world, in the political order as much as in what may seem to be the morally safer areas of private life, in the knowledge that God will accept him in spite of the evil in which his actions involve him."

The book does not admit any connection between such a rationale for evil methods and the Communist rationale that the method of dictatorship is necessary if they are to reach the classless society. Yet John Bennett does say that "the actual behavior of Chris-

The Reviewers

Edgar Jones is an FOR member and veteran of the last war, author of "I'm an Ill-Adjusted Veteran" and several articles in the *Atlantic Monthly,* now on the editorial staff of the *Baltimore Sun.* . . . Frederick K. Stamm is minister of the First Congregational Church, Chicago, summer preacher on the "Highlights of the Bible" radio program, author and FOR member. . . . Don Bullock is on the faculty of the University of Buffalo, in the Psychology Department. . . . John Swomley and "C. M." you know.

tians and of nations which acknowledge Christian standards has been much less different from that of Communists than they suppose." As an illustration he cites the failure of the Christian churches in America to witness against obliteration or atomic bombing during the war.

The book does a good job in showing some of the dilemmas Christians face and in showing the challenge and the weaknesses of communism. But any claim that the book stimulates one "to be true to the revolutionary implications" of his faith reminds me of the comment of a speech professor: "Don't lead your audience to believe you are going to give birth to an elephant when you have only a mouse in mind."

—John M. Swomley, Jr.

Bold Commitment

High Wind at Noon, by Allan Knight Chalmers. Charles Scribner's Sons, 1948. 208 pp., $2.50.

These sermons come hot off the anvil, and by a preacher whose urgency leads him to take a high position and to challenge men to the best in Christian living.

For a number of years he stood in the pulpit of the Broadway Tabernacle in New York and spoke the deepest convictions of his heart and mind, knowing full well that they were not too popular. In a time when liberalism was being assailed, Allan Chalmers challenged the exponents of a return to Calvinism. The six chapters in this book on *The Dilemma of the Liberal* marks the preacher as having hold of a common-sense Gospel which he believes is the only hope of the world.

In the second part, *Bones in the Desolate Valley,* he sets the individual soul in the midst of a wicked world and gives him a place of importance in bringing about the Kingdom of God, not at some far-off time, but *now.*

In the third part, *The Current in a Troubled Stream,* he sets forth boldly the idea that when once men commit themselves to the way Jesus pointed, the powers of darkness will be broken. Nothing less than this is the task of the Christian.

Dr. Chalmers knows his literature, his Bible, and there is a sense of surety that he has found the right direction. What he says is not easy to do, but he believes that man must pay the price if ever the victory for God is to be won. I have a feeling that his utterances will stand the test of time.

—Frederick Keller Stamm

COs Analyzed

Characteristics of Conscientious Objectors in World War II, by A. E. Gory and D. C. McClelland. Journal of Consulting Psychology, 1947, Vol. XI, pp. 245-257.

As the authors state by way of introduction, "While this report serves to supply data basic to further study of the conscientious objector population, its scope is necessarily limited. It represents an attempt to assess some of the common sociological and psychological characteristics of . . . conscientious objectors . . . under the administration of the Civilian Public Service Committee of the American Friends Service Committee."

Despite various limitations upon the collection of the data, imposed

by the situation in which the data were obtained, the authors feel that certain conclusions "are fairly well substantiated." COs in Friends' CPS were generally heavier, taller, older, and had had more education than Army and Navy enlisted men. COs came from predominantly professional occupations, more often had interests which were "cultural and service oriented (rather) than practical . . . (or) in business occupations" (as shown by the Strong Vocational Interest test), and had a strong "secondary interest in skilled manual labor—farming, printing, etc."

Data are presented in tabular form concerning: (1) religious distribution of CPS men; (2) rural-urban distribution; (3) age; (4) educational distribution; (5) intelligence test scores; (6) occupational interests; and (7) pre-induction occupations.

The data presented in this report possess a generality and statistical vagueness which probably will leave the student of sociological and psychological characteristics of COs rather dissatisfied. Perhaps, as the authors maintain, such census-type analyses are necessary forerunners of further, more refined studies of CO characteristics. It would seem to this reviewer, however, that diligent case-study analysis of COs is necessary for obtaining useful understanding of the characteristics of COs.

The analysis of CO characteristics can eventually serve two useful functions: (1) provide means by which the individual CO can better appreciate his personal motivations, and (2) provide means by which pacifist organizations may better orient their edu-

Vera Brittain

Known and loved by FOR members as one of the most effective and eloquent workers for the cause of peace, Vera Brittain has written a new novel that is winning widespread acclaim. Here is what some of the reviewers have said:

"So moving is Vera Brittain's new novel that a second reading is as inevitable as rereading Galsworthy's 'Forsyte Saga.' "—*Boston Globe*

"It has the quality of veracity which makes any novel memorable."—*Chicago Tribune*

"No one has written more poignantly of war from the point of view of a pacifist than has Vera Brittain. . . . It is a powerful and moving book."—*Worcester Sun-Telegram*

"Vera Brittain . . . is writing here again with all her wonted sincerity and intensity of the spiritual havoc of war."—*Washington Star*

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MACMILLAN

cational and action programs. Once we have "depth" understanding of the sociological and psychological characteristics of COs and the conditions responsible for their development, we will be better able to strengthen the pacifist cause. For this reason, it might be held that COs themselves have a responsibility to assist in the analysis of their characteristics on a level more refined than statistics concerning age, weight, intelligence, etc.

—Don Bullock

From England

Pacifism as an Individual Duty, by Rev. E. L. Allen. Central Board for Conscientious Objectors, London, February, 1946. 24 pp., 15c.

A clearly reasoned, intelligent argument, inspired by the non-pacifist book *Pacifism and Conscientious Objection* but not depending on the opposition for its effectiveness. Dr. Allen deals specifically with the possibility of an absolute moral judgment such as the pacifist arrives at on the subject of war, and the validity of the appeal to Christian teaching in support of the pacifist position. A very effective work on the basis of pacifism.

—C. M.

Soldier's Life

Thy Men Shall Fall, by Sidney and Samuel Moss. Ziff Davis Publishing Company, 1948. 351 pp., $3.00.

Taking their title from Isaiah 3: 24, 25, two brothers have written what I believe to be the most accurate and unrelenting account yet published of a soldier's life in World War II. *Thy Men Shall Fall* is the GI-view of the advance from North Africa through Sicily to the Normandy landing and eastward to Berlin. It is 351 pages of unadulterated misery and human debasement.

Sidney and Samuel Moss are not in a class with the literary craftsmen who wrote *The Naked and the Dead*, *The Gallery*, and other dramatic interpretations of the impact of war on the minds of men. The Moss brothers are plodding realists who have set the facts of a dogface's life down in flat detail.

New Evidence

Documented and carefully assembled, this 64-page pamphlet presents the unarguable facts. Published by the National Council Against Conscription, and sponsored by 18 prominent Americans, including Pearl Buck, Albert Einstein, and Ray Lyman Wilbur.

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Militarization of America

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in the order and frequency of their occurrence: blood, mud, shells, bombs, mud, vomit, brothels, bombs, grenades, blood, profanity, cold, rain, whores, death, brutality, shells, mud, profanity, bombs, frustration, vomit, lust, machine-gun fire, drunkenness, bombs, shells, etc.

The reader is given no refuge from the horrible repetition in war of horrible events. Throughout page after page of this book the sensitive person must squirm, feel dirty and shamed, smell the stench of death and share in the slaughter and indignities. Just as war itself is disgust extended to numbing boredom, so too is this account of the late struggle of young men against mechanized bloodshed. *Thy Men Shall Fall,* in short, is a self-indictment that many persons will probably want to escape after reading a few pages.

Describing the hatred for Germans that GI's had drilled into them "by a process similar to the hatred engendered in the *Wehrmacht,* the *Waffen SS,* and the *Hitler Jugend,*" the Moss brothers say:

Thus it was that these men who at first had no hatred for any people, who didn't want to fight any people, and who indeed had to be drafted in order to make an army of any proportion, came to hate a whole people with a murderous and unrelenting hatred. So effective was their psychological training, in fact, that they went beyond the requirements of warfare—shooting German soldiers when they surrendered, tossing grenades into bedrooms where Germans were sleeping, unconscious of the swift advances we had made, murdering them on the roadside while

The AUDACITY of FAITH

By Allan A. Hunter

This timely book is in the tradition of other Allan Hunter books and like them is notable for its hard-hitting conversational treatment of great and vital matters. It unerringly conveys the conviction that a new level of life to meet today's despair must be found and demonstrates the ways in which life on "the third level" may be lived.

$1.75

The Best of STUDDERT-KENNEDY

With a tribute by the late WILLIAM TEMPLE

Here are 97 selections from the writings of G. A. Studdert-Kennedy, one of Britain's great pacifist Christians who dates his hatred of war and exploitation from the First World War. His prose and poetic works which are generously sampled in this book cover a great many subjects and are phrased in unforgettable, earthy, prophetic language.

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HARPER AND BROTHERS

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they were being marched to prisoner of war cages.

And on the subject of war itself they say:

Through all the ages of recorded history wars have been waged; and all the multitudes who fought them believed they were fighting for Justice, for Right, for Liberty; and in the cause of these beliefs they murdered each other. Yet in the thousands of years of bloodshed, the rape of cities, the desolation of lands, all prosecuted in the cause of such abstractions, nothing of worth to the human spirit has come out of them. Men are no wiser than Socrates, no saintlier than Confucius—in all the twenty-five hundred years of blood-letting that stand between their day and ours. It is time to call a halt to the slaughter of men and to those social forms that live by murder. It is time to address those who seek to justify war for any cause whatever and to say to them that there has been no cause of the many holy causes, no slogan of the myriad, high-sounding slogans, no war of the five thousand years of war, that is worth one single, solitary human life.

But the above should not make pacifists jump to the conclusion that men like Sidney and Samuel came out of the war with a faith in peaceful ways of life. They see no distinction "between the war that civilians wage and the war of soldiers." They want no peace that is "a camouflaged war, a camouflaged misery within four walls as a home, a camouflaged regimentation as freedom." They say:

You've only got to look around you to see that the war is all-pervading. The struggle of man against man prevails all through our civilization. War is everywhere. There's not and never was any peace. The struggle is a sordid struggle for existence.

On the basis of this disgust for civilian life, the one character in the book who most resents the brutality of military life turns down his discharge and stays on with the occupation forces in Germany, "where my misery is in its naked form, for all to recognize."

—Edgar L. Jones

In Brief

Segregation on Common Carriers, by James Wallace. Fellowship of Southern Churchmen, 1947. Unpaged. 10c.

A brief description of jimcrow in transportation in the South, gradual changes in attitudes and laws, and changes still necessary, with quotations or condensations of the segregation laws of the individual Southern states.

* * *

War and the Child Mind, a Symposium. Published for the Youth Committee of the Peace Pledge Union, England, 1944. 20 pp., 15c.

Contains articles on "The roots of aggression in infancy," by Dr. Charles Burns; "What war means to the country child," by Mary Osborn; "What war means to the city child," by the Rev. Edwin Towell; "War propaganda and the school child," by Thora Whitten; "The general ill-effects of war," by Robert King. This is subtitled "A Preliminary Inquiry," and makes no pretense to definitiveness. It will be of interest, however, to FOR people who are concerned with the relationship of children to war, pacifism, etc.

—C. M.

GO BACK TO THE SOURCES

Many of us were jogged out of familiar ruts when we received the January FOR mailing, and read the reaffirmation on the front of the January FELLOWSHIP. It's easy to let the sharp realization of just what we meant when we signed the Statement of Purpose slip into the background of memory, to stop feeling the urgency of our task. Every so often we need to go back to the basis of our faith, to renew our belief; and here are books that fill that need.

The Church, the Gospel and War

Symposium, Ed. by Rufus M. Jones

Leading religious pacifists bring the problem of war and peace squarely before the churches.

$2.00

Not As the World Giveth

By Philippe Vernier

The widely-acclaimed second volume of meditations by the Belgian pacifist, deeply moving and spiritual.

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The Power of Nonviolence

By Richard B. Gregg

For years one of the basic books on the nonviolent technique, a study of the anatomy of nonviolence.

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Ends and Means

By Aldous Huxley

A brilliantly clear and intelligent basic discussion of pacifism and the means to accomplish the ends it seeks.

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A Guide to True Peace

By Fenelon, Mme. Guyon, Molinos

A devotional manual on "the excellency of inward and spiritual prayer," widely used and highly valued.

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The New Testament Basis of Pacifism

By G. H. C. Macgregor

The definitive discussion of the theological basis of pacifism, by the well-known Scottish pacifist and theologian.

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NOT BY MIGHT

By A. J. Muste

Analysis of the terrifying crisis of our time, proposes the truly revolutionary pacifist answer.

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SATYAGRAHA

By R. R. Diwakar

The best book on the nonviolent method in many years, short and easy to read, by a disciple of Gandhi.

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Great Soul

By Herrymon Maurer

One of the best and most interesting studies of Gandhi, tracing the factor of growth in his thinking and life.

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Civil Disobedience

By Henry David Thoreau

The inspiration for many years of people determined to change conditions and forced to do so by defying the state.

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Something Old, Something New . . .

The books on this page include two that we feel have been undeservedly ignored by FOR members; two that have been selling well, but of which you might like to be reminded; and two new ones you will want to know about.

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF HUMANITY
By Pitirim A. Sorokin

A penetrating analysis of our time and its problems, by one of the foremost living sociologists.

$3.00

THY MEN SHALL FALL
By Sidney and Samuel Moss

Brutally realistic novel by two combat soldiers who went through the war and were disgusted by it.

$3.00

BORN 1925
By Vera Brittain

A novel of the making of a pacifist minister, and what happens to him and his family in wartime.

$3.50

BETWEEN TWO WORLDS
By Ralph Templin

Quietly exciting account of the strug gle of a missionary in India to appl his religion in difficult circumstance

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THE WAR MYTH IN U. S. HISTORY
By C. H. Hamlin

Exposes the myth that each of ou wars was a defensive one.

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LOOK AWAY
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By A. J. Muste

THE ONLY TREASON
By Ellsworth W. Taylor

CORPORAL BENNY SPEAKS UP
By Alfred Hassler

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